

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-12

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R 201102Z DEC 73 ZDK
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 977
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY PARIS

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 3 TEL AVIV 10334

E.M. 11652: N/A
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SUBJ: MRS MEIR'S DEC 20 SPEECH

PARIS FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY

REF: TEL AVIV 10330

1. THERE FOLLOWS VERBATIME ADVANCE TEXT (UNNECESSARY WORDS OMITTED) OF PRIMIN MEIR'S SPEECH DEC 20 BEFORE KNESSET, EXCEPT FOR FIRT THREE PARAGRAPHS WHICH WE HAVE SUMMARIZED.

2. AFTER ENTAILING VIRTUES OF CEASEFIRE STABILIAZTION AGREEMENT OF NOV 11 AND KM 101 TALKS, MRS MEIR CONTINUED:
BEGIN TEXT. THE TALKS HAVE BEEN BROKEN OFF, TO OUR GREAT REGRET, BUT NEED TO STABILIZE CEASEFIRE BY SEPARATION OF FORCES REMAINED. WE EXPRESSED OUR READINESS TO RESUME DISCUSSION OF SUBJECT WHEN PEACE CONFERENCE CONVENES, IN HOPE OF REACHING AN AGREE-
MENT. BREAKING- OFF OF TALKS AT KM 101 ON EGYPT'S INITIATIVE MADE IT NECESSARY TO EXERCISE REDOUBLED ALERTNESS IN MILITARY AREA, IN VIEW OF POSSIBILITY OF AGRESSIVE MOVES ON PART OF EGYPT.

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3. REGRETTABLY DESPITE EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT TO CEASEFIRE, BREACHES OF CEASEFIRE OCCUR ALMOST EVERY DAY THROUGH FIRE FROM EGYPTIAN ARMY POSITIONS TOWARDS OUR FORCES. HUNDREDS OF SUCH INCIDENTS HAVE TAKEN PLACE SINCE OCT 24, AND THERE HAVE EVEN BEEN CASUALTIES. ON THIS OCCASION, I CALL UPON EGYPTIAN AUTHORITIES TO COMPLY WITH THEIR OBLIGATION TO OBSERVE CEASEFIRE-- TO PUT SAFETY-CATCH ON THEIR ARMS.

4. ALL THIS TIME, US SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER, HAS BEEN CONTINUING HIS EFFORTS TO GET AGREEMENT FROM PARTIES CONCERNED TO TAKE PART IN PEACE CONFERENCE BETWEEN OURSELVES AND OUR NEIGHBORS. IN COURSE OF HIS EFFORTS, HE HAS VISITED ARAB CAPITALS AND CAPITAL OF ISRAEL. IN OUR TALKS IN JERUSALEM, FOLLOWING UPON MY TALKS WITH HIM IN WASHINGTON, I DISCUSSED WITH SECRETARY OF STATE IMPORTANT ISSUES IN CONNECTION WITH CONFERENCE. QUESTION OF AUSPICES FOR CONFERENCE, STATES WHOSE REPRESENTATIVES WOULD BE INVITED, STAGES OF DISCUSSIONS, AND SO FORTH, WERE DISCUSSED. WE ALSO HELD DETAILED DISCUSSION ON QUESTION OF SEPARATION OF FORCES, AND ISSUE WHICH DR KISSINGER WISHED TO STUDY THOROUGHLY IN CONTACTS WITH AUTHORITIES OF EGYPT AND ISRAEL. THIS DISCUSSION HAS NOT YET BEEN COMPLETED.

5. SPONSORS OF CONFERENCE--UNITED STATES AND SOVIET UNION--HAD INTENDED TO CONVENE IT ON DEC 18, BUT THEY HAD TO COMMUNICATE WITH GOVERNMENTS CONCERNING THEIR LETTER TO UN SECRETARY GENERAL, WHO IS CONVENING CONFERENCE. AS A RESULT OF THESE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PARTIES--ISRAEL INCLUDED--THERE WAS A POSTPONEMENT. IN LETTER FROM US AND USSR TO UN SECRETARY GENERAL, DATED DEC 18, 1973, WHICH WAS COMPOSED FOLLOWING DELIBERATIONS WITH THE PARTIES, IT IS STATED: (VERBATIM TEXT OF SYG'S LETTER OF INVITATION AS CONTAINED USUN 5704 FOLLOWS.)

6. US SECRETARY OF STATE ATTACHED SUPREME IMPORTANCE TO OPENING CONFERENCE WITHIN MONTH OF DECEMBER. IT APPEARS TO ME THAT HE WAS ANXIOUS OVER POSSIBILITY OF ANY POSTPONEMENT, LEST OBSTACLES CROPPED UP AND POSSIBLY EVEN FIRING WAS RESUMED. WE TOO, FOR OUR PART, WERE NOT INTERESTED IN DELAYS OR POSTPONEMENTS FOR VERY SAME REASONS. OUR FORCES ARE DEPLOYED AGAINST ANY AGGRESSIVE INITIATIVE BY EGYPT OR SYRIA, BUT WE DO NOT WANT RESUMPTION OF WAR.

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7. ISRAEL AGREEMENT WAS, THEREFORE, GIVEN TO OPENING OF CONFERENCE IN DECEMBER, PROVIDED SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS ON VARIOUS ASPECTS OF SUBJECT OF PEACE ARE HELD AT LATER DATE, AFTER ELECTIONS TO EIGHT KNESSET, AND ARE CONDUCTED ON RESPONSIBILITY OF A CABINET WHICH SHALL HAVE RECEIVED CONFIDENCE OF NEW KNESSET. I AM HAPPY TO NOTE THAT THIS CONDITION OF OURS HAS BEEN ACCEPTED. CONFERENCE WILL OPEN TOMORROW,

FRIDAY, DEC 21, 1973, BEFORE KNESSET ELECTIONS, BUT INITIAL STAGE WILL BE BRIEF AND FORMAL ONLY AND WILL LAST TWO DAYS. AT OPENING CEREMONY, ADDRESSES WILL BE DELIVERED BY FOREIGN MINISTERS OF INVITED STATES, AS WELL AS FOREIGN MINISTERS OF UNITED STATES AND SOVIET UNION AND SECRETARY GENERAL OF UNITED NATIONS. THERE WILL BE AN INTERVAL THEREAFTER, AND CONFERENCE WILL BE RESUMED IN COURSE OF JANUARY.

8. AS AFORSAID, CONFERENCE STARTS TOMORROW, AND MUCH TO OUR REGRET, DESPITE ALL OUR EFFORTS TO ENSURE THAT THERE WILL BE NO SESSIONS ON SABBATH, NO WAY WAS FOUND TO CHANGE TIMING DETERMINED, AND IT WILL INDEED CONTINUE ALSO ON SATURDAY, DEC 22, 1973.

9. OPENING STAGE WILL LAST ONLY TWO DAYS, BUT DURING THIS SHORT PERIOD ARRANGEMENTS AND PROCEDURES WILL BE DETERMINED WHICH WILL INFLUENCE ENTIRE COURSE OF CONFERENCE, AND IT DOES NOT APPEAR FEASIBLE TO ME THAT WE CAN AFFORD TO BE ABSENT FROM HALF THE TIME OF DISCUSSIONS. MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS ANNOUNCED AT CABINET SESSION THAT ISRAEL'S REPRESENTATIVES WHO WILL BE COMPELLED-- IN THIS GIVEN SITUATION--TO PARTICIPATE IN DISCUSSIONS ON SATURDAY, WILL, OF COURSE, SCRUPULOUSLY REFRAIN FROM DESECRATING SABBATH.

10. ALMOST CERTAINLY, FIRST MATTER TO BE DEALT WITH BY CONFERENCE IN JANUARY 1974 WILL BE DISENGAGEMENT OF FORCES, WHICH IS PART OF CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT (ARTICLE 2 OF SIX-POINT AGREEMENT). I HAVE NOTED THAT PRESIDENT SADAT HAS SAID PUBLICLY THAT HE ALSO IS PREPARED TO MAKE PROGRESS IN DISCUSSIONS ON THIS SUBJECT, AND WE SHALL BE PREPARED TO TAKE PART IN THESE DISCUSSIONS EVEN BEFORE NEW GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN FORMED. AS I HAVE SAID, PRINCIPAL STAGE OF CONFERENCE WILL BEGIN AND CONTINUE ACCORDING TO DIRECTIVES OF NEW GOVERNMENT.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 978

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11. IN ORAL AND WRITTEN CONTACTS WITH PRESIDENT OF UNITED STATES, MR RICHARD NIXON, AND SECRETARY OF STATE, DR KISSINGER, MAIN CONDITIONS AND POLITICAL FRAMEWORK FOR CONVENING OF CONFERENCE HAVE BEEN THOROUGHLY CLARIFIED. IN COURSE OF THESE CONTACTS, WE HAVE AGREED TO DEFINITION OF FUNCTION OF UNITED NATIONS. FUNCTION ALLOTTED TO UN HAS BEEN THOROUGHLY CLARIFIED: AUSPICES OF UN ARE LIMITED TO CONVENING OF CONFERENCE. UN SECRETARY GENERAL, DR WALDHEIM, WILL SERVE AS CONVENER OF CONFERENCE AND CHAIRMAN AT ITS OPENING SESSION. UN SECRETARY GENERAL DISPATCHED INVITATIONS AT REQUEST OF US AND USSR, IN THEIR LETTER WHICH I HAVE ALREADY MENTIONED. HE WILL ENSURE THAT UN ORGANIZATION WILL PLACE AT DISPOSAL OF CONFERENCE SERVICES REQUIRED FOR EFFECTIVE WORKING.

12. ON DEC 15, SECURITY COUNCIL ADOPTED DISTURBING RESOLUTION IN REFERENCE TO PEACE CONFERENCE. FOUR OF PERMANENT MEMBERS, INCLUDING US AND USSR, ABSTAINED. LET US RECALL THAT ISRAEL HAS NO DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH FIVE OUT OF TEN STATES THAT VOTED FOR RESOLUTION. I MUST MAKE IT CLEAR THAT ANY ATTEMPT TO INCLUDE SUBJECTS OF DISCUSSIONS AT PEACE CONFERENCE WITHIN ACTIVITY AND AUTHORITY OF SECURITY COUNCIL WILL BE IN DANGEROUS CONTRADICTION TO BASIS AND PURPOSE OF CONFERENCE, AND WILL MEET WITH EXPLICIT UNCLASSIFIED

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OPPOSITION ON OUR PART. IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT US SHOULD ACQUIESCE IN SUCH A BREACH OF AGREED ASSUMPTIONS. WE SHALL NOT FIND OURSELVES ISOLATED IN FACING SUCH A DANGEROUS MOVE, WHICH VIOLATES CONSENT WHICH IS BASIS OF PEACE CONFERENCE.

13. ARAB STATES WHICH HAVE BEEN INVITED TO TAKE PART IN CONFERENCE ARE EGYPT, JORDAN AND SYRIA, LEBANON HAS NOT YET BEEN INVITED, BUT I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT IT WILL BE INVITED AT LATER STAGE. EGYPT AND JORDAN HAVE ACCEPTED INVITATION, WHILE SYRIA

HAS REPLIED IN NEGATIVE.

14. WITH GREAT REGRET I HAVE TO INFORM HOUSE THAT SYRIAN RULERS STILL REPLY WITH FLAT REFUSAL TO OUR DEMAND FOR LIBERATION OF OUR PRISONERS. ON OUR PART PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN MADE TO THEM WHICH ARE BEYOND LIMITS OF OUR COMMITMENTS-- BUT IN VAIN. INFLUENTIAL POLITICAL ELEMENTS HAVE REPEATEDLY APPEALED TO SYRIAN RULERS--WITHOUT EFFECT. PRESIDENT OF SYRIA, WHO WAS ASKED TO DISCUSS SUBJECT OF PRISONERS, STATED THAT FROM HUMANITARIAN ASPECT THIS WAS NOT SUBJECT REQUIRING PARTICULAR DISCUSSION. AND NOW SYRIANS HAVE DECLARED THAT THEY WILL NOT BE COMING TO GENEVA.

15. I DO NOT KNOW HOW SYRIANS EXPLAIN THEIR REFUSAL TO TAKE PART IN PEACE CONFERENCE. EVEN BEFORE THEY CAME OUT WITH THIS STATEMENT WE MADE IT CLEAR- BOTH FROM KNESSET ROSTRUM AND TO REPRESENTATIVES OF US- THAT AS LONG AS NO LIST OF OUR PRISONERS IS RECEIVED BY US AND RED CROSS IS NOT PERMITTED TO VISIT THEM, WE CANNOT SIT DOWN WITH THEM AT GENEVA CONFERENCE AT ANY STAGE.

16. WE TRIED TO MAKE CONTACT WITH SYRIANS THROUGH REPRESENTATIVES OF US AND OF REDCROSS. THROUGH US REPRESENTATIVE WE LEARNED OF SYRIAN PROPSOAL THAT WE AGREE TO RETURN OF 15,000 SYRIAN CITIZENS TO AREAS CAPTURED BY IDF IN YOM KIPPUR WAR, AND TO RETURN TWO SYRIAN POSITIONS ON MT. HERMON. IF WE COMPLIED THERE WOULD BE AN EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS. WE AGREED TO RETURN OF CIVILIANS AND TO STATIONING OF UN FORCES IN TWO POSITIONS REFERRED TO. WHAT IS MORE, IN MY TALK WITH DR. GUYER, ASSISTANT SECRETARY-GENERAL OF UN, I PROPOSED THAT MEETING BETWEEN SENIOR ISRAELI AND SYRIAN OFFICERS BE HELD, SIMILAR TO KILOMETER 101. WE DIDNOT UNCLASSIFIED

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RECEIVE ANY AFFIRMATIVE REPLY.

17. I REALIZE AND UNDERSTAND WHAT MUST BE FEELINGS OF FAMILIES WHOSE DEAR ONES HAVE BEEN TAKEN PRISONER BY SYRIANS. ALL OF US ARE AGHAST AT DREADFUL NEWS AND RUMOURS WHICH HAVE REACHED US. WE SHALL NOT CEASE IN OUR EFFORTS TO SECURE INTERVENTION OF FACTORS WHICH CAN SPEED UP LIBERATION OF OUR SOLDIERS. SYRIAN RULERS ARE ASSUMING TERRIBLE RESPONSIBILITY, AND WE WILL NOT EXEMPT THEM FROM THIS RESPONSIBILITY.

18. NEGOTIATIONS ON PEACE IN MIDDLE EAST MUST BE CONDUCTED BETWEEN STATES CONCERNED: NAMELY, BETWEEN ISRAEL ON ONE HAND AND ISRAEL'S NEIGHBOURS-EGYPT, JORDAN, SYRIA AND LEBANON- ON THE OTHER. THERE IS NO REASON TO INVITE TO PARTICIPATE IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS ANY ADDITIONAL STATES BESIDES US AND USSR, WHICH UNDERTOOK SPONSORSHIP OF CONFERENCE. THERE IS NO

CONCEIVABLE OBJECTIVE CRITERION BY WHICH ADDITIONAL STATES SHOULD BE INVITED. WE ARE AWARE OF FACT THAT REPRESENTATIVES OF VARIOUS STATES HAVE EXPRESSED THEIR WISH TO TAKE PART IN CONFERENCE. THIS INCLUDES STATES NOT OUTSTANDING IN THEIR NEUTRALITY. ISRAEL GOVERNMENT HAS EXPRESSED ITS OPPOSITION TO INVITATION OF ADDITIONAL STATES OR OF NON-SOVEREIGN FACTORS, AND WE ARE CONVINCED THAT BY THIS OPPOSITION WE ARE SAFEGUARDING CONFERENCE AGAINST DANGEROUS COMPLICATIONS.

19. IT IS ONLY NATURAL THAT WE SHOULD HAVE VOICED OUR EXPLICIT OPPOSITION TO ANY NOTION OF INVITING TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS UNDER THE AEGIS OF PLO OR ANY OTHER ORGANIZATION, AT ANY STAGE WHATSOEVER. IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT WE SHOULD AGREE TO TAKE PART IN CONFERENCE TO WHICH REPRESENTATIVES OF THESE ORGANIZATIONS SHOULD BE INVITED, NOT TO SPEAK OF NEGOTIATING WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF ORGANIZATIONS WHOSE DECLARED AIM IS DESTRUCTION OF STATE OF ISREL. WE HAVE NO COMMON DENOMINATOR WITH ORGANIZATIONS THAT ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR ACTS OF TERRORISM AND MURDER. WE SHALL NEGOTIATE WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF NEIGHBOURING STATES, WITH WHICH WE HAVE CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENTS.

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R 201102Z DEC 73

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20. WE ARE NOT IGNORING DISTURBING FACT THAT ONE OF

POWERS UNDER WHOSE AUSPICES CONFERENCE IS MEETING HAS SEVERED DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL. THIS POWER PLAYED CONSIDERABLE PART IN DEVELOPING ARAB MILITARY STRENGTH AND IN PREPARING EGYPT AND SYRIA FOR WAR. IN COURSE OF CONFERENCE, IT WILL BECOME CLEAR WHETHER THIS POWER IS ACTUALLY CONDUCTING ITSELF IN MANNER FITTING TO AIM OF PEACE CONFERENCE.

21. I AM CONVINCED THAT POLICY OF US AT PEACE CONFERENCE WILL BE GUIDED BY SINCERE GOODWILL AND WILL BE DESIGNED TO OFFER AID TO PARTIES, AS REQUIRED, IN ORDER TO BRING ABOUT SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF NEGOTIATIONS AND ACHIEVE CONTRACTUAL AND BINDING PEACE TREATY.

22. ROLE FULFILLED BY US SINCE OCTOBER 6 AND UNTIRING EFFORTS OF SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER IN CAIRO, AMMAN AND OTHER ARAB CAPITALS HAVE BEEN OF NO SMALL ASSISTANCE TO CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES AND TO ACHIEVEMENT OF SIX-POINT AGREEMENT REPRESENTING LOGICAL AND OPERATIONAL CONTINUATION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL'S CEASE-FIRE RESOLUTION. WE ARE ENCOURAGED BY CLEAR-CUT STAND OF US, AS FREQUENTLY EXPRESSED IN PUBLIC, IN FAVOUR OF DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN PARTIES.

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WITH HELP OF THIS CLEAR-CUT POLICY, WE HOPE TO ACHIEVE SIGNIFICANT AND DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WITH EACH OF ARAB STATES BORDERING UPON ISRAEL, AND TO ADVANCE TOWARDS SETTLEMENT OF QUESTIONS IN DISPUTE.

23. WE ATTACH SUPREME IMPORTANCE TO WHAT IS STATED IN SC RESOLUTION 338 ON SUBJECT OF NEGOTIATIONS. THIS TIME THERE IS EXPLICIT REFERENCE TO NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN PARTIES: UP TO THAT POINT THERE HAD BEEN NO LACK OF ATTEMPTS AT MEDIATION, SPONSORSHIP AND GOOD OFFICES, ALL OF THEM WITHOUT DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS. ISRAEL WILL BE ON WATCH THAT NO MISINTERPRETATION SHALL ARISE ON THIS POINT, WHICH IS POSITIVE AND SIGNIFICANT INNOVATION IN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 338.

24. GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL WILL SEND ITS AUTHORIZED REPRESENTATIVES TO PEACE CONFERENCE WITH CLEAR CUT DIRECTIVES TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO ADVANCE TOWARDS AND ATTAIN PEACE. SUBSTANTIVE DIRECTIVES WILL BE ISSUED BY NEW GOVERNMENT, AND I DO NOT TAKE IT UPON MYSELF TO DEFINE NOW ITS ATTITUDES ON MAJOR POINTS AT ISSUE. HOWEVER, I HOPE AND BELIEVE THAT NEW GOVERNMENT TO BE ESTABLISHED BY EIGHTH KNESSET AFTER ELECTIONS WILL EXPRESS OUR PEOPLE'S YEARNINGS OF PEACE WITHIN DEFENSIBLE BORDERS.

25. ON THRESHOLD OF CONFERENCE, I SHALL MAKE NO ATTEMPT TO EXAMINE ATTITUDES OF GOVERNMENTS OF ARAB STATES. THERE WILL BE TIME FOR THIS IN COURSE OF DISCUSSIONS AT CONFERENCE. INFLU-

ENCE OF ALGIERS CONFERENCE, ITS DELIBERATIONS AND RESOLUTIONS, CANNOT BUT GIVE RISE TO CONCERN. HOWEVER, WE SHALL NOT CEASE TO HOPE FOR A TURNING POINT, A NEW APPROACH, FOR THROWING OFF OF SHACKLES OF EXTREME ATTITUDES DEVOID OF ANY SENSE OF REALITY. I WOULD LIKE ARAB STATES TO PROCEED TO PEACE CONFERENCE IN SAME SPIRIT OF SINCERITY, IMBUSED WITH SAME INSPIRATIONS THAT ANIMATE PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL- FOR THEN ROAD TO PEACE WILL BE SMOOTH IN BOTH DIRECTIONS.

26. SEVENTH KNESSET IS CONCLUDING ITS TERM OF OFFICE IN WAKE OF DIFFICULT TRIALS AND SIGNIFICANT VICTORY OF YOM KIPPUR WAR. PEACE CONFERENCE WILL BE OPENING WITH SEVENTH KNESSET NOT YET HAVING COMPLETED ITS TERM.
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NO EFFORT MUST BE SPARED TO ENABLE STATE OF ISRAEL-DURING TERM OF EIGHTH KNESSET TO REACH AN AGREEMENT ON SEPARATION OF FORCES AND, WHAT IS MORE, ACHIEVE CNETRAL OBJECTIVES OF OUR POLICY- A LASTING PEACE. ONCE STAGE OF SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS IS REACHED, ISRAEL'S DELEGATES WILL STRIVE FOR CONTRA-TUAL PEACE BETWEEN PARTIES, WITH DEFENSIBLE BORDERS, AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH GUIDELINES WHICH, IN MY BELIEF, WILL BE EXPRESSED IN BASIC POLICY OF NEXT GOVERNMENT.

27. ISRAEL'S PARTICIPATION IN TALKS IS NOT SUBJECT TO ANY PRIOR CONDITIONS. ISRAEL HAS NOT DEMANDED PRIOR ACCEPTANCE OF HER POSITIONS BY OTHER PARTIES, NOR IS SHE ACCEPTING BEFOREHAND CONDITIONS OF OTHER PARTIES, AS STATED BY THEM PUBLICLY AND OTHERWISE, BUT EACH SIDE WILL BE FREE TO SUBMIT ITS PROPOSALS ON THE SUBJECTS UNDER DISCUSSION.

28. WE ARE AWARE OF DIFFICULTIES AND STRUGGLES AHEAD OF US. WE ARE ALERT TO DANGERS. NEVERTHELESS, ISRAEL'S EMISSARIES WILL GO TO PEACE CONFERENCE SOBERLY, WHOLEHEARTEDLY, AND COURAGEOUSLY. WE SHALL LET NO-ONE TAKE THE NAME OF PEACE IN VAIN. WE SHALL NOT CEASE TO STRIVE FOR A FULL PEACE-IN SIMPLE SENSE OF TERM-A PEACE TO END WARS, WHICH WILL OPEN UP BRIGHT PROSPECTS FOR UNDISTURBED DEVELOPEMTN OF A LIFE OF CREATIVE PROGRESS FOR EACH AND EVERY ONE OF PEOPLES AND STATES IN MIDDLE EAST. END TEXT
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